The Transgenerational Effects of Father-Daughter Incest

Fall 1981

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THE TRANSGENERATIONAL EFFECTS
OF FATHER-DAUGHTER INCEST

BY

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B.A., University of Central Florida, 1978

THESIS
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Science degree in Psychology
in the Graduate Studies Program of the College of Arts and Sciences
University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Fall Term
1981
ABSTRACT

The notion of "Transgenerationality" as it pertains to father-daughter incest, has been the source of speculation in research on incest. This study examines the relationship between the manifestation of family system factors often found in father-daughter incest families and the incidence of childhood sexual experience reported by parents actively or passively participating in this dysfunctional system. Fathers sexually abused or witnesses to incestuous relationships in childhood appear to most extensively violate the incest taboo. Mothers in incestuous families who were victims of sexual assault as children tend to function in more stereotypic incest family systems as described routinely in the professional literature. The results of this study elucidate the necessity of ascertaining comprehensive background information including psychosexual developmental histories of both parents when attempting to effectively intervene when working with incest families.
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A. Incidence, Definition, and the Incest Taboo

Prohibited intrafamily sexual relationships involving natural, adoptive, or step-family participants characterize the term "incest", a derivative of the Latin "incestus" meaning impure, immodest, or lewd. The incest taboo, described as instinctive by Delora and Warren (1977), is perceived as mandatory not only to maintain functional family structure, but also to avoid the ill effects of biological degeneration associated with incestuous activity (Cavallin, 1973; Delora & Warren, 1977).

Legal and moral prohibitions banning incest transcend cultures throughout the world. Murdock (1949), reported no incidence of socially or legally acceptable incest in 250 primitive societies surveyed. This author (p. 258) describes the "grisly horror" experienced by societal inhabitants when incestuous relationships were suspected or confirmed. Offenders were subject to severe penalties and often times put to death for their distasteful sexual expression. Rubenstein (1976), describes creative mock trials followed by the hanging of effigies of participants in incestuous activities in the Eastern Caribbean Island of St. Vincent. Selinske (1980), comments that sexually abusive relationships generate feelings of disgust and anger from
others who perceive these interactions as not only violations of trust but also, when female children are victimized, a further demonstration of exploitive, degrading actions taken by men with women.

Universal expression of "grisly horror," disgust, and anger associated with incestuous activities have not always been evident across cultures throughout the world. Several authors (Jounod, cited in Masters, 1963; Middleton, 1962; Weinberg, 1955) have described ancient or primitive cultures in which incestuous relationships were tolerated. In his study of the ancient Middle East, Fatal (1959), reported a high incidence of both father-daughter and brother-sister marriages, the latter consummated to discourage either sibling from straying away from the Judaic Religion. Rush (1980), concludes that although incest has never been explicitly condoned, neither has it been consistently condemned by the general public. He reports that several historical figures including the King of Egypt in the 5th Century B.C., the King of Persia in 100 A.D., and Pope Alexander 6th, had all engaged in incestuous activities with their daughters without significant consequences.

Several authors attempt to rationalize or justify the father's incestuous expression. Mead (1975), in noting an exorbitantly high incidence of paternal sexual attraction to daughters, commented that society must discover and utilize strategic methodologies to protect the father
from overwhelming temptation. Pomeroy (1976), a noted member of the Kinsey Research team and author of several human sexuality publications, suggest that when a young daughter hugs, kisses, and presses against her father, "it would be an extremely obtuse father who would not be aroused and continue the situation." Brownmiller (1975) concludes, "The taboo against father rape is superceded by a stronger, possibly older taboo—there shall be no outside interference in the absolute dictatorship of father rule." Finally, Kalven and Zeisel (1966), describe a legal case where a father was tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment for engaging in incestuous activities with his 10 year old daughter. Upon appeal, following 13 months of imprisonment, the defendant was acquitted after just 30 minutes of jury deliberation. The decision rendered was based not upon new evidence introduced into Court, but on feelings of sorrow for the individual who had suffered long enough in prison. When the trial was completed, the jurors presented the father with $68 which they had collected in sympathy for his plight.

Given the somewhat questionable sanctions resulting when father-daughter incest has been consummated throughout history, it is not surprising that this form of incest occurs most frequently in published studies throughout the literature. Weinberg (1955) found that of 204.
cases involving incestuous relationships, 164 or approximately 63% were of the father-daughter variety. Maisch (1972) reported approximately 85% of the incest cases coming before German Courts involved illegal sexual relationships between natural fathers or step-fathers and their daughters. In addition to 38 cases of father-daughter incest detected in her psychotherapy sample, Meiselman (1978) reported a minority of homosexual incest cases of the father-son (2), brother-brother (2) and mother-daughter (1) variety, and incestuous perpetration of a female child by grandfathers, uncles, and older brothers. Nonetheless, factual statements concerning the most frequently occurring form of incest cannot be promulgated, even though ratios of father-daughter to brother-sister incest have been reported at rates as high as 5.5:1 (Sloane & Karpinski, 1942). Some research efforts utilize less clinically oriented samples. Hunt (1974), actually reports a significantly higher incidence of brother-sister and cousin sexual contact in childhood. Adams and Neel (1967) reported 12 brother-sister and only six father-daughter cases referred to child care and adoption agencies. Definitive incidence results are not available to determine the most common form of incest at the present time.

The actual detected incidence of sexual relationships between immediate family members in the general population
is considered to be grossly underestimated universally throughout the professional literature. Although the frequency of detected incest has been reported at approximately one to two cases per million inhabitants (Weinberg, 1955), Maisch (1972) reports speculation by German criminologists that over 90% of all cases of incest in the western world are never discovered by legal authorities. The Children's Division of the American Human Association (DeFrances, 1969) estimates that a minimum of eighty to one hundred thousand children are sexually molested each year. In approximately 25% of these cases the perpetrator is considered to be a member of the child's immediate family. Hunt (1974), reported that approximately 15% of respondents to a national survey admitted to some sexual contact with relatives in their childhood.

Several authors (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy & Christenson, 1965; Halleck, 1962; Malmquist, Kiresuk, & Spano, 1966) working with psychiatric and delinquent populations, have commented on the comparatively high incidence of incest noted in their samples. Rosenfeld (1979) found six cases of incest in a randomly selected sample of 18 female patients seen for treatment or psychiatric evaluation. He suggested that if this figure represents the prevalence of women involved incestuously as children, the previous incidence estimates among female patients have been grossly inaccurate. Studies utilizing more representative
samples of the general population (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) report almost no incidence of incestuous activity in childhood with male subjects, and suggest that one in approximately sixteen women had been approached sexually by an immediate family member at some time in their youth. Nonetheless, a comparison of data compiled for the 1976-1978 National Analysis of Official Child Abuse and Neglect Reporting suggests that for all substantiated reports of child abuse, the proportion of sexual abuse rose from 3.2% in 1976, to 5.8% in 1977, to 6.2% in 1978. The 1978 report also indicates that 15.4% of all substantiated cases of child abuse involved some form of sexual abuse of the child. Either the incidence of incest or the actual frequency of its discovery and reporting has increased consistently over this three year period. A significant decrease in the reporting of incest occurs during wartime when fathers and older sons are engaged in military activities while separated from their families (Meiselman, 1978).

Discrepancies in reported incidence of incestuous activities within the nuclear family could in part be related to a variety of definitions utilized by researchers when discriminating incestuous from non-incestuous relationships. Weinberg (1955) defined the incestuous act as genital intercourse between blood related family members.
Gebhard et al. (1965, p. 227) pointed out that genital intercourse is exceedingly difficult and at times impossible to effect with young children, suggesting that numerous incestuous acts, including homosexual incest, would not be considered when utilizing the somewhat confining definition adhered to by Weinberg (1955). Often the incestuous affair between father and daughter is defined by specific types of sexual activity contingent upon the age of the child at onset. Gebhard et al. (1965) report that only 9% of men imprisoned for sexual relationships with daughters under 12 had effected genital intercourse during the affair. In cases where the onset of incest occurred between the ages of 12 and 16, as would be most frequently predicted by Maisch (1972), 72% of the daughters were penetrated by the father. Ninety-one percent of the young women over 16 were involved in sexual intercourse at some point during the incestuous affair. Spencer (1978) concluded that the incestuous relationship between father and daughter begins when the child is younger and often does not involve active penetration until the daughter has been conditioned to accept his sexual advances. Westermeyer (1978) found that coitus was by far the most frequently engaged in activity during the course of the incestual relationship. Gebhard et al. (1965) reported that genital fondling or oral-genital relations were most commonly exhibited in the prison sample with daughters under the age
of 12. The authors commented that these same individuals favored the utilization of similar techniques with their spouses. Weiner (1962) noted that 40% of his sample was oversexed and tended as well to engage frequently in oral-genital relations. Studies throughout the literature (e.g. Gligor, 1966) suggest that although coitus is most frequently exhibited with post-pubescent children, other "deviant" sexual techniques are utilized by at least some fathers in each sample.

Although definitional discrepancies were noted, the majority of publications reviewed included petting and fondling of genitals, implicit sexual acts such as digital stimulation of the breasts, mutual masturbation, and oral-genital contact when describing specific incestuous acts effected by the father with his daughter. The degree of relationship between these participants in incest most often includes natural father-daughter (or son), natural mother-son (or daughter), and other combinations including grandparent-grandchild, uncle-niece, aunt-nephew, and first cousin relationships.

A second contributing factor to research inconsistency when ascertaining the specific definition of incest to be used involves the degree of relations to be considered in adoptive and step-families. Although some studies (Rascovsky & Rascovsky, 1950; Riemer, 1940; Thompkins, 1940; Weinberg, 1955) include only natural family blood related
participants, many researchers (Browning & Boatman, 1977; Maisch, 1972; Meiselman, 1978) include these extended degrees of relations in their sample when the parent or brother figure initiating incestuous activity is present for extensive periods or from early childhood in the home. Sagurin (1977) accurately concludes that research into factors pertinent to incest is hampered and confused by the lack of a clear cut definition of incest utilized across publications.

Research into factors pertinent to incest could also be hampered by the actual reality of incestuous activity reported by victims. The incidence of nuclear family sexual relations, according to Kinsey, et al. (1948, p. 558), "occurs more frequently in the thinking of clinicians and social workers than it does in actual performance." Following conviction and imprisonment, according to Gebhard et al. (1965), many incest offenders continue to deny the offense despite overwhelming evidence that the alleged incestuous activity did occur. Medlicott (1967) reports that clinicians have often detected the presence of psychosis in patients obsessed with incestuous cognitions. This author suggests that these individuals may be confusing their fantasies with reality or projecting incestuous impulses onto others. Freud ([1896] 1962, p. 203) upon rejection of his earlier hypothesis, "at the bottom of every case of hys-
teria there are one or more occurrences of premature sexual experiences, occurrences which belong to the earliest years of childhood," proclaimed that report of incestuous experiences in his early case studies were fantasized by his patients.

Recent clinical studies (Berry, 1975; Peters, 1976) have reported a comparatively high frequency of sexual trauma including incest in childhood, and conclude that Freud's statements regarding fantasy as opposed to actual experiences should be carefully scrutinized and reconsidered. Peters (1975) went so far as to suggest that Freud's notion concerning incest was actually proposed simply to reduce the anxiety experienced by professionals. Others (Kubo, 1959; Wahl, 1960) suggest that reports by patients grappling with a thought disorder should not be automatically discounted, for incest is frequently associated with gross psychopathology. And finally, Sgroi (1975) emphasizes that professionals must realize that the ability to recognize the sexual victimization of the child is contingent upon their willingness to consider that it may be occurring.

The sexual victimization of the child subject to covert incestuous relations in the nuclear family has been the topic of research and case history publications in the professional literature for nearly a century. Beginning with efforts published in Latin by Richard von
Kraft-Ebing ([1886] 1965) and other physicians of the time, incest research continued, and several articles (Marcuse, 1923; Rohleder, 1917) were later translated into English and published in *The American Journal of Urology and Sexology*. The actual incidence of research in the United States (Bender & Blau, 1937; Sloane & Karpinsky, 1942) led to little regular attention in the literature throughout the 1930's and 1940's, but escalated dramatically in the 1950's and through the present time. Countless professional and non-professional journal and newspaper articles and many assorted non-fictional accounts of incestuous family relations reported through the news, television, and radio medias have appeared quite recently in this country.

This increased attention to the problems inherent in incest has included the passage in 1974 of the Child Abuse and Treatment Act, which resulted in the establishment of a National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. Many states have expanded and bolstered child abuse reporting laws and have established twenty-four hour hot lines devoted exclusively to calls concerning abusive perpetration of children in their homes (Giarretto, 1976). Sgroi (1975) reported an increase from 76 reported incidents of child sexual abuse in 1973 to 172 cases in 1974, results that she attributed to strengthened child abuse reporting statutes, the opening of a hotline, and per-
sistent public education in a moderately populated city in Connecticut. Giarretto (1976) reported similar increases in incest detection in Santa Clara, California, during this same time period. It is apparent that this increased attention to as opposed to ignorance of the problems inherent in incest could prove integral in the effort to prevent, discover, and treat its unfortunate consequences in the future.
B. The Onset, Course, and Termination of the Father-Daughter Incest Affair

Given that father-daughter incest is most frequently reported in published studies, it is not surprising that the majority of information available is derived from incestuous relationships of this nature. Recurring non-marital sexual relationships characterizing the father-daughter affair result in a dysfunctional family system where each member performs actively or passively in a contributing role to the difficulties within the system. By localizing significant interpersonal and intrapersonal variables that contribute to the noted family dysfunction, conclusions can be drawn concerning treatment strategies to be utilized when attempting to ameliorate inherent difficulties within incestuous family relationships.

Rosenfeld (1978) emphasizes that the sexual abuse of children is more complex than its typical characterization as a violent, traumatic act done by an adult perpetrator to a child. He concludes that aberrant family functioning is seen as the primary factor in such cases. This dysfunction develops and intensifies long before the actual onset of the father-daughter incest affair.

Before the actual onset of the father-daughter incest affair, specific conditions are often present within the
dysfunctional family system. Finkelhor (1979) reports eight vulnerability and risk factors or conditions in the home environment that positively correlate with the likelihood of sexual victimization in childhood. The author concludes that among children with none of these conditions present in their family of origin, the incidence of sexual abuse was virtually absent; among those with five factors, two-thirds had been victimized during their youth. The factors include: A step-father in the home; whether the child has lived without her mother; whether child had not developed a close, nurturing relationship with her mother; whether mother never finished high school; whether mother engaged in sexually punitive behavior with the daughter; whether father gave little to no physical affection to the family; whether family income was under $10,000 annually; and whether the child maintained two or less friendships during her youth. The presence of each additional factor increased the child's vulnerability between ten and twenty percent. Meiselman (1978) comments that any condition that leaves the father and daughter alone for any extensive period of time, for example if the mother is dead or hospitalized, or if both parents maintain radically different work schedules, provides the opportunity for incest in predisposed individuals. Riemer (1940) suggested that incestuous activity was often preceded by highly stressful conditions in the home environ-
ment. It seems likely from these results that an intense combination of conditions directly effecting participants in the incestuously predisposed family operating in conjunction with interpersonal and intrapersonal inadequacies inherent within the family system, will dictate the incidence of actual incestuous activity initiated within the confines of the home environment.

Within the confines of the home environment, the actual course of the father-daughter incest affair almost invariably begins with sexual activities introduced by the father. Even in cases where the daughter is described as seductive, the father is almost always perceived as taking the initiative (Maisch, 1972; Riemer, 1940; Weinberg, 1955). Although Gligor (1966) found no indications of sexual activity initiated by the daughter, occasional reference is made in the literature to the occurrence of this phenomena (Machotka, Pittman, & Flomenhaft, 1967; Magal & Winnick, 1968; Maisch, 1972). Incestuous relationships are frequently initiated by the father's joining his child in bed at night while the child is sleeping or feigning sleep (Meiselman, 1978). Numerous studies suggest that sexual activity including genital petting and fondling of the breasts often precedes attempts to effect genital intercourse with the child.

Father-daughter incest rarely commences in conjunction with paternal violence. Although Szabo (1962) reported
that 42% of imprisoned fathers had raped their daughters at the beginning of the affair, literature findings most frequently suggest that few children are both physically and sexually abused at the onset of the incestuous relationship (Gebhard et al., 1965; Maish, 1972; Weinberg, 1955). Herman and Hirschman (1977) reported no incidence of physical force demonstrated by fathers when attempting to enter into a sexual relationship with their daughters. Almost no paternal engagement in sexual intercourse with pre-pubescent daughters was detected in this sample.

Maisch (1972) who reported the absence of violence at the onset of incest in 94% of his cases, concludes that the father must attempt to coerce the child to say nothing if the sexual affair is to be continued. He accomplishes this by not only using verbal threats and intimidation, but also by providing false information to the daughter on a routine basis. Threats or duress are seldom necessary at the onset of the sexual relationship, unless the father is initiating oral-genital relations with his daughter or genital intercourse with a very young child (Gebhard et al., 1965).

Herman and Hirschman (1977) conclude that the father's sexual approach is clearly a manifestation of authority and power, which is almost always comprehended accurately by the daughter. Many victims are simply afraid to offer resistance (Meiselman, 1978), and rationalize their sub-
mission and the consequential feelings of disgust and shame by concluding that the paternal expression of love in incest is preferable to no love at all from the father (Herman & Hirschman, 1977). Riemer (1940) and Weinberg (1955) conclude that these feelings of intimidation and fear result in the daughter's passive participation in the incestuous act. Meiselman (1978) commenting on the passivity frequently observed in her psychotherapy sample suggests that children very often pretend to be asleep in bed when sexually approached and assaulted by their fathers.

Other authors (Gebhard et al., 1965; Gligor, 1966; Maisch, 1972) have commented that the incestuously victimized child will, at times, passively or actively participate in the relationship but is more likely to avoid paternal sexual advances situationally or by occasionally resisting the father in a physical manner. Nonetheless, according to Weinberg (1955), in some cases particularly with younger children, paternal sexual advances are perceived as a further extension of physical affection expressed by the father. These feelings are greatly enhanced when the daughter assumes the "daddy's little girl" role, enjoying many privileges denied to the other children in the family during the course of incestuous relations.

Maisch (1972), suggests that researchers have never tired of raising questions concerning the relationship between the lack of space in living conditions and the on-
set of the course of incestuous relations within the family system. Weinberg (1955) concludes that even in the largest of incest families where overcrowded housing did present numerous difficulties to its members, alternative sleeping arrangements were almost always available in cases where fathers claimed that they were forced to sleep with their daughters. Weinberg concluded that the interpersonal relationships and individual psychopathologies inherent in the family system were a great deal more causative in nature than the physical setting of the home.

A description of the family at the onset of the incestuous affair, as derived from studies utilizing court and imprisoned samples, typically consists of adjectives including poverty stricken, poor, and of the lowest socio-economic class. The conceptualization is being seriously questioned in the wake of new evidence suggesting little correlation between the incidence of incest and socio-economic class. An explanation that incest is bound to be more prevalent in environments plagued by increased incidence of alcoholism, interpersonal maladjustment, and social isolation has frequently been offered. This statement is at best speculative, and fails to attend to the fact that the results of most research efforts specific to the onset of incest tend to mirror the target population from which their samples were drawn (Henderson, 1975; Weiner, 1964). Several recent studies (Herman &
Hirschman, 1977; Lustig, 1966; Meiselman, 1978; Weiner, 1962) suggest that the incidence of intrafamily sexual relations cannot be predicted on the basis of socio-economic class alone. Giarretto (1976), in his sample of court ordered family participants in therapy, reports that fathers involved in the work force, during the course of the incestuous affair, are generally functioning in professional, semi-professional, or blue collared positions, earn $13,413 annually per household, and have completed on the average of 12½ years of school.

As the course of the incestuous affair develops, unusual behavioral patterns are often demonstrated by the father. Cormier, Kennedy, and Sangowicz (1962) describe these responses as similar to adolescent boys engaging in their first courtship experience. The fathers attend regularly to their daughters, buying them gifts and protecting them physically from the approaches of other males. These individuals also exhibit extreme jealousy when the daughter attempts to expand her romantic and sexual horizons outside of the family system. Other authors (Karpman, 1954; Meiselman, 1978) suggest that some fathers, in an effort to maintain the secretive nature of the relationship, will rationalize their incestuous behavior to their daughters. Rationales offered to older children (e.g., for sex education purposes) and to a young child (e.g., a new game between father and daughter) are seldom convincing.
over long periods of time when factual messages are communicated by peers or other family members within the confines of the home environment (Meiselman, 1978).

Within the confines of the home environment, the onset of incestuous activity often leads to a recurring affair that continues for several years. Meiselman (1978) reported that the average incest affair, excluding the cases where the father failed to succeed in establishing sexual relations with his daughter (25%) proceeded for approximately 3.5 years. She suggested that a dependent father, functioning in an "ingrown" family system, was most likely to continue for longer periods in the incestuous relationship. This father attempted to prolong the sexual aspects of the relationship indefinitely by dominating his daughter and sheltering her jealously from the attention of males her own age.

When this domination becomes intolerable, the daughter will often times contemplate informing an individual outside or within the family system of the traumatic events that she is aquiescently enduring. Several studies (Maisch, 1972; Riemer, 1940; Weinberg, 1955) suggest that the daughter experiences an intense, debilitating fear as a result of threats related by the father not to expose the incestuous details, and will usually fail to communicate her plight to the outside world. Herman and Hirschman (1977) reported 86% of the father-daughter relationships
remained a secret within the family system; in just four cases did the child actually attempt to inform the mother of her experience. In one case, the daughter was immediately committed to an institution out of fear that she would become a "lesbian or a whore." In the second case, the mother who offered ambivalent support to her daughter until she learned that a conviction would lead to her husband's imprisonment, publicly reversed her testimony, calling her 12 year old daughter "a notorious liar and a slut." These authors report a very consistent finding throughout the literature, that is, a small minority of daughters feared expulsion of the father from the household; but the overwhelming majority expected that their mothers would do nothing had they informed them of the details.

Although a high percentage of clinical research suggests that mothers who become aware of incestuous activity do not act effectively to end the situation, some authors (Shelton, 1975; Weinberg, 1955) present detailed accounts of mothers, who in conjunction with their daughters, do expel the father from the home. Unfortunately, often times mothers are at least somewhat aware of the incestuous relationship, but adopt an attitude of "peace at any price" and fail to effectively end the incestuous affair (Katchadourian & Lunde, 1972; Lukianowicz, 1972). Some mothers react to the disclosure of incest by the daughter with extreme hostility which results at times in severe physical
beatings for relating the allegations and stern warnings to never discuss the subject again (Kaufman, Peck, & Tagiuri, 1954; Malmquist et al., 1966). Many authors (Kaufman et al., 1954; Machotka et al., 1967; Meiselman, 1978; Weiner, 1962) comment on the propensity of the mother to engage in denial of the incestuous situation. The reality of loss of financial support, her husband's impending imprisonment, and humiliation in the community likely tends to inhibit the mother's actions to be taken to terminate the incestuous affair.

The termination of the incestuous affair is often a deliberate process that tends to progressively develop as the victim gets older. Maisch (1972) concluded that young daughters demonstrate passive behavior whereas older victims seek, to a greater degree, to reject the incestuous advances of the father. He describes one of the most characteristic features of incest to be the sexual initiative, which is primarily developed in the male adult, yet gradually slips from his grasp as the victim gets older. In other countries cited in several studies dated at least 18 to 20 years ago, the pregnancy of the daughter and consequential scandal in the community had contributed to the termination of the incestuous relationship (Kubo, 1959; Merland, Fiorentini, & Orsini, 1962; Riemer, 1940; Weinberg, 1955). More recent studies (Giarretto, 1976; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Meiselman, 1978) cite little or no
incidence of pregnancy and fail to consider this possibility as causative with respect to the ending of the incest affair. It can be speculated that increased sophistication in the use of contraception is responsible for the significant decrease in incestuous pregnancies reported in the literature over the last few years.

The reporting of incest, which has dramatically increased since the establishment of child abuse and neglect reporting laws, has often been cited as an important causative event with respect to the termination of the incestuous affair (Gebhard et al., 1965; Giarretto, 1976; Gligor, 1966; Sgroi, 1975; Weinberg, 1955). By far, the most commonly cited causative factor in studies throughout the literature involves the adolescent daughter running away from home and the intolerable relationship with her father. Meiselman (1978) reported that 15 of 26 daughters involved incestuously departed from home against their fathers' wishes. She commented that the younger daughters frequently went to live with another relative; the older victims either eloped or ran away from home with high school boyfriends.

When the daughter does finally depart from the incestuous home environment, the father is faced not only with strong feelings of rejection and abandonment, but also with possible legal prosecution and public and family humiliation, contingent upon the specific way that the
daughter had ended the affair. Some fathers behave consistently with broken-hearted, awfulizing teenagers who have just been rejected by their girlfriends (Shelton, 1975). Others attempt to alleviate intense feelings of guilt and sorrow by expressions of religious confession and repentance (Gebhard et al., 1965). Still others respond to the incest allegations with emphatic denial to family members and legal authorities (Meiselman, 1978). Unfortunately, many fathers displace sexual expression to a younger daughter, especially if the mother is absent from the home or utilizing denial in her refusal to acknowledge the incidence of incest with the oldest child. Oligor (1966) reported that in over 30% of his sample, the father had engaged incestuously with two or more daughters in the home.

The daughter's departure from the home against her father's wishes disrupts the dysfunctional equilibrium that had been maintained during the incestuous relationship (Lustig, 1966). The effects of the disclosure of incest, according to Weinberg (1955) are contingent upon measures taken by the mother and to a certain extent the legal authorities if the father is exposed to criminal proceedings. If the mother decides to maintain the dysfunctional relationship patterns within the family system, she frequently expresses extreme hostility toward the daughter and seeks to expel her from the family. If the
mother has a close, nurturing relationship with the daughter, she often initiates divorce proceedings immediately following the expulsion of the father from the home. The latter alternative is seldom cited within the professional literature as chosen by the mother when incest is initially discovered. Although disintegration of the family unit often initially occurs when the incidence of incest is ascertained, several authors (Cormier et al., 1962; Eist & Mandel, 1968; Kates, 1975) and in particular, Giarretto (1976), have reported successful clinical intervention with incestuous families, the latter demonstrating outstanding accomplishments utilizing a highly proclaimed treatment model with a large number of court referred families in Santa Clara County, California.
C. The Participants: The Mother and Father

The course of the incest affair represents a dysfunctional equilibrium in that the daughter's acquiescent acceptance of the father's incestuous advances are seldom acted upon effectively by the mother. Forward and Buck (1978) differentiate mothers in incestuous relationships as either silent partners or as actively involved participants in the affair. Behavioral manifestations ranging from ignoring signs of ongoing incest to subtly promoting it on a routine basis characterize the former; whereas the actively involved mother demonstrates anything from subtle prodding to actual involvement in setting up not only the situation, but also the incestuous act itself. The authors estimate that 80 to 90% of all victim's mothers can be considered as functioning within one of these two categories.

Although the mother has occasionally been reported as an active participant in the overt sexual relationship (Forward & Buck, 1978; Maisch, 1972; Weiner, 1962), more often she is categorized as the family member who "sets up" the father and daughter for the incestuous affair. This is hypothetically accomplished by the mother's withdrawing emotionally and sexually from her husband, surrendering her role as wife and mother to the daughter, and
ignoring the special relationship that develops between father and child (Browning & Boatmen, 1977; Finkelhor, 1978; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Meiselman, 1978). Even when the mother demonstrates no behavior congruent with the role of silent participation, she is still held at least partially accountable by the daughter for not expending efforts to more readily protect her from the advances of the father. Nonetheless, a large percentage of the time, the mother does have prior knowledge of the relationship and chooses to ignore or do very little about reporting or discouraging the activity (Brown, 1979; Katchadourian & Lunde, 1972).

In 1972, Maisch reported that 10% of his West German sample of mothers in incest families had been raised for the vast majority of their lives in orphanages. Several authors (Eist & Mandel, 1968; Lustig, 1966; Meiselman, 1978) have commented on the emotional deprivation inherent in the childhood of the mother. Kaufman et al., (1954) emphasized the frequent incidence of rejection and hostility experienced by the natural mother in her relationship with her own mother. The mother's own incestuous involvement in childhood, seldom made reference to in the professional literature, likely occurs in many more cases than previously identified (Spencer, 1978).

The professional literature often makes reference to the mother's incapacitation or absence from the home as a
contributing factor to the incestuous affair. Maisch (1972) commented that 33% of the mothers in his survey had experienced physical illnesses before or during the incest period. Of these, 19% suffered illnesses of a more serious nature, 16% so severe that sexual relations with the husband were negatively effected. Gligor (1966) reported that 16% of mothers in incestuous families were pregnant at the onset of the incestuous relationship and suggested that pregnancy, like an incapacitating illness, could be significantly related to the onset of the child's victimization by the father. Herman and Hirschman (1977) reported that 50% of the mothers in their sample were partially incapacitated by physical illness, mental illness or alcohol abuse and either assumed an invalid role within the home or were periodically absent because of hospitalization. Marcuse (1923, p. 279) using the term "recognition motive" suggested that when the mother dies, the family system consists of the daughter, who often resembles the mother's physical and behavioral characteristics, at home with the father. Pragmatically, the mother's death results in the continuation of the system without an appropriate sexual outlet for the father or maternal protection for the children.

The mother's inability to perform in a protective, restraining role in ensuring the safety of her children could at least in part be related to ongoing manifestations of
specific, non-assertive personality characteristics. Dysfunctional dependency is demonstrated in the mother's primary emphasis on the father's financial or emotional contributions to the family after the incidence of incest is divulged, almost in complete ignorance of the father's sexual activity consummated with the daughter (Spencer, 1978). Passivity, submissiveness, masochism, and intense feelings of worthlessness are chronic personality characteristics attributed to mothers in incestuous families reported throughout the literature (Cormier et al., 1962; Kaufman et al., 1954; Meiselman, 1978; Weinberg, 1955). Browning and Boatman (1977) conclude that chronic depression is consistently reported as the presenting problem by mothers who seek treatment in psychotherapy upon ascertaining the incidence of incest within her family. The authors suggest that depression could be resulting in contributing factors, such as reduced sex drive, considered to be important situational determinants in father-daughter incestuous affairs.

The incidence of the father-daughter incestuous affair has often been related to the mother's non-participation in sexual relations with her husband. Westermeyer (1978) reported that in his sample of 32 incest participants, the males initiating sexual activity with the victims had almost universally lost access to adult sexual partners for reasons of cohabitation, refusal, divorce, ill-
ness, or death. These findings are consistent with those of Riemer (1940) who suggests that the onset of incest consistently manifests when the father, for whatever reasons, finds himself unable to engage in sexual intercourse with his own wife. Maisch (1972) reports that in 41% of his sample, no regular sexual relations had transpired well before the start of incestuous activity. Thirty-five percent of the sample participated in sexual intercourse less than once a week while six percent reported no physical contact with their spouses over a one to four year period. A common attitude transcending the statements of perpetrators is inherent in a representative comment, "Marital sexual intercourse before the start of incest was not satisfying!" Many described their wives as frigid, cold, and disinterested in sexual relations. Weiner (1962) reported little to no sexual responsiveness in four of five cases, a finding consistent with the Cormier et al., 1962 study. Brown (1979, p. 436) concludes "In the family, the young person is sacrificed to preserve the status quo of the marriage, which is often one in which the mother does not wish to be involved sexually with her husband." Lustig (1966) suggests that many wives in the incestuous family system were sexually rejecting to their husbands while at the same time demonstrating a sexually provocative demeanor, almost in a sadistic fashion.

A sexually provocative demeanor, resulting in histor-
ies of promiscuity or sexual acting out, has been reported as significant with a percentage of mothers functioning in incestuous families. Lukianowicz (1972) related statistics suggesting that over 30% of his sample of mothers had promiscuous histories, some so extensive that men were sexually entertained within their homes while the husbands were out. Other studies reported that between fifteen and fifty percent of their samples contained mothers engaging in casual, extramarital sexual relationships (Gligor, 1966; Kaufman et al., 1954; Maisch, 1972; Szabo, 1962). As commonly seen in reports throughout the incest literature, no data in these studies was provided concerning sexual histories of non-incestuous mothers. Nonetheless, Weinberg (1955) suggests that incest likely occurs in these families simply because the strength of the incest taboo is greatly minimized given the obvious tolerance of explicit, inappropriate sexual activity. Lukianowicz (1972) comments that these mothers behaviorally express acquiescent approval and foster their husband's incestuous actions by distracting their attention to numerous extramarital relationships. Unfortunately, the factors differentiating the promiscuous, sexually acting out mother from the sexually adversed and rejecting mother have not been documented sufficiently in the literature.

More than sufficient documentation in the literature is available concerning the notion of the mother's maternal
role reversal with her daughter. Spencer (1978) comments that the mother in incestuous relationships will delegate or permit the delegation of her traditional role often to the eldest daughter in the family. These mothers usually work radically different hours from their husbands who are not always employed, in order to, from their perspective, keep the family together. Spencer (1978, p. 585) concludes that despite protesting challenging statements concerning their maternal skills and capabilities, these individuals "develop relationships with their female children that are geared toward the children's understanding and meeting the needs of the mother." Herman and Hirschman, (1977) suggest that when the daughter assumes the mother's traditional role as the responsible party for nurturing and taking care of the family, the father senses no obligation to nurture and care for the family himself. He does, however, feel entitled to continue to receive the services from the daughter that had once been provided by her mother. According to Kaufman et al. (1954), the relationship between mother and daughter is initially quite positive, with both individuals working together to care for the house and younger siblings. As time progresses, the mother relinquishes her role to the daughter, who then becomes the object of maternal displacement of hostility and aggression stemming from her own personal relationship with the child's grandmother. Herman and Hirschman (1977)
suggest that these mothers become highly dependent upon the daughter in that the mother will confide in and describe her personal difficulties to the child, and continue to expect the daughter to maintain the household as the "little mother" is now capable of doing. Although several articles cite case studies with comparable mother-daughter dynamics (Heims & Kaufman, 1963; Lustig, 1966; Machotka et al., 1967; Magal & Winnick, 1968; Rhinehart, 1961), Meiselman (1978) suggests that this pattern is by no means universal in that it tends to occur most frequently with the dependent, ingrown father as opposed to the perpetrator enduring a thought disorder or behaving in a sociopathic fashion.

Regardless of specific personality characteristics inherent in the backgrounds of incestuous fathers, histories suggesting severe emotional deprivation are highlighted as universal throughout the literature. Mild to extreme levels of poverty have commonly been reported (Kaufman et al., 1954; Meiselman, 1978; Riemer, 1940), a factor most consistently observed in backgrounds of incestuous fathers when compared to other groups manifesting sexual dysfunction (Gebhard et al., 1965). Riemer (1940) described the incestuous father as typically leaving home at an early age, abandoned by at least his father, and spending his adolescent years in a non-family environment. Reports of desertion of the family by the father are common
(Lustig, 1966), along with speculation that the daughter dynamically represents the father's natural mother, suggesting the occurrence of an oedipal phenomenon (Cavallin, 1966; Cormier et al., 1962; Lustig, 1966). Gebhard et al. (1965), reported that prepubertal incestuous fathers experienced very poor interpersonal relationships with their natural fathers, preferring their mothers; fathers imprisoned for incest with daughters sixteen or older expressed positive over-all feedback concerning their family of origin. Meiselman (1978) concludes that a positive correlation is reflected in the relationship between natural family stability and the age of the daughter at time of incestual onset.

At the time of incestual onset, the family system is characterized by a dysfunctional pattern of paternal dominance manifest at times in dogmatic, controlling relationships (Ralphing, Carpenter, & Davis, 1967) and at other times in over-investment in the affairs of individual family members (Spencer, 1978). Lustig (1966) commented on the patriarchal attitude expressed by the father in an attempt to ward off conflictual feelings of inadequacy and rejection stemming from his own natural family system. Spencer (1978) reported that the father's generally preoccupied with his daughter's sexual behavior and often attempts to utilize juvenile legal authorities when his control over the child begins to wane. He may initiate
physical violence with his daughter's boyfriends who he is certain are lying, and often engages in non-sexual, physically abusive actions to control all activity within the family system.

Within the family system, an unemployed father whose family is supported by his working wife, is granted the opportunity to spend lengthy periods of time alone with his daughter. It is not surprising that reports of unemployment among incestuous fathers ranging upwards to 70% are frequently alluded to in the current professional literature (Kaufman et al., 1954; Riemer, 1940; Weinberg, 1955). Lukianowicz (1972, p. 305) describes the incestuous father as often times an "unemployed, inefficient, good-for-nothing husband." Logically, samples yielding data across evenly distributed socioeconomic levels have not suggested unemployment to be a constant variable in incestuous family systems (Cavallin, 1966; Cormier et al., 1962; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Meiselman, 1978). The opportunity to engage in incestuous activities, usually present when fathers are not working or are employed during radically different working hours than their spouses, appears more relevant to the incidence of incest than paternal unemployment within the family system (Finkelhor, 1978).

Within the family system, the use of alcohol by the father is often associated with the actual incidence of
the incest affair. Weinberg (1955) suggests that alcohol reduces inhibitions and tends to augment sexual arousal and excitement. Commonly, alcohol use and abuse is reported as directly related to the onset and continuance of incestuous activity in anywhere from fifteen to seventy five percent of samples of incestuous fathers (Browning & Boatman, 1977; Cavallin, 1966; Kaufman et al., 1954; Lukianowicz, 1972; Merland et al., 1962). Gebhard et al. (1965), suggested that a negative correlation exists between the age of the daughter at the onset of incest and the likelihood that the father drinks to the extent that his social and occupational adjustment is severely impaired. These authors suggested that a high percentage of incest offenders in their sample, although not alcoholics, drank on occasion to relieve stress and were drinking when the incestuous relationship with their daughter began.

The incidence of incest, at times noted in systems where the father is intellectually functioning at a subnormal level (Bender & Blau, 1937; Kubo, 1959; Weinberg, 1955) is seldom reported as related to the father's inability to construe the implications of his actions. Intellectual capacities among incestuous fathers have been reported on the average as falling within the normal (Cavallin, 1966; Lukianowicz, 1972) and bright normal (Weiner, 1962) ranges of intelligence. Gebhard et al. (1965), found that fathers engaging in sexual relations with their dau-
ghters twelve years and under, were even more intelligent than a noncriminal, matched control group.

Fathers engaging in sexual relations with daughters manifest behavioral patterns consistent with specific personality profiles described throughout the professional literature. Panton (1979), utilizing the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (M.M.P.I.), reported that incestuous fathers are often described as self-alienating, despondent, impulsive, rigid, and inhibited, with feelings of insecurity and fear of not being able to function adequately in heterosexual relationships. They frequently exhibit poor judgement transcending numerous situations and fail to consistently benefit from constructive feedback concerning errors demonstrated in the recent past. Socioeconomic class samples often yield a small to moderate percentage of paternal incest participants described as anti-social or sociopathic by the author (Lukianowicz, 1972; Lustig, 1966; Weinberg, 1955). These individuals were described as promiscuous, unable to establish and maintain friendships with males, and as having a flagrant disregard for the personal needs and rights of others within the family system. Fathers in these samples verbalized no consistent sexual preference for their daughters; instead they appeared to engage in incestuous activities with them only when their spouses or extra-marital lovers were not sexually accessible (Weinberg, 1955).
Hypersexual activity has been reported as a common characteristic inherent in samples of fathers eliciting sexual activities with their daughters. Several studies report a moderate to large percentage of fathers to be hypersexual, oversexed, or obsessed with sexual fantasy, demonstrated in loose sexual expression (nudity or even sexual intercourse in the presence of children) or a high frequency of sexual outlet on an ongoing basis (Maisch, 1972; Shelton, 1975; Weinberg, 1955; Weiner, 1962). Although Gebhard et al. (1965, p. 227) reported that incest fathers do not differ significantly in frequency of sexual involvement when compared to a non-criminal control group, they commented that at times "there appears to have developed a pathological obsession with sex. This expresses itself in much time spent in sexual fantasy, in talking too much about sexual matters, in increasing or attempting to increase marital coitus markedly, in seeking increased visual stimuli, in unnecessary nudity bordering on exhibition, and in preoccupation with mouth-genital contact."

Although hypersexuality is frequently noted, severe sexual disturbance precluding incestuous involvement is not commonly reported in the literature. Incest is often perceived as a complex family system dysfunction as opposed to an obvious sexual disturbance exhibited by the father. Although early investigations recognized a pedo-
phile variety of incest offenders involved with pre-pubescent daughters (Gebhard et al., 1965; Marcuse, 1923; Weinberg, 1955), a special sexual interest in young children among incestuous fathers has seldom been noted in case studies throughout the professional literature. Quinsey, Chaplin, and Carrigan (1979), measuring the circumference of penile responses to slides of females of varying ages, suggested that incestuous fathers or step-fathers demonstrate more appropriate sexual age preference than child molesters with unrelated victims. Fathers sexually involved with daughters have been described as strongly and exclusively heterosexual. Little to no incidence of concurrent or prior overt homosexual activity has been reported as characteristic of these fathers. Deviant sexual activity excluding hypersexuality is seldom associated with non-psychotic, incestuous fathers or step-fathers.

Incestuous fathers or step-fathers occasionally are described as thought disordered or psychotic during or upon discovery of the incestuous affair (Magal & Winnick, 1968; Medlicott, 1967; Merland et al., 1962; Weinberg, 1955). Martin (1958) reported that imprisoned fathers involved incestuously with their daughters tend to exhibit more generalized psychological dysfunction than perpetrators imprisoned for sexual relations with young, non-related females; Kubo (1959) suggests that psychosis is more common among fathers living in urban as opposed to rural,
lower socioeconomic environments. Several authors have commented on the father's propensity to demonstrate severe psychopathology following incest exposure, legal incarceration, public humiliation, and imprisonment (Cavallin, 1966; Weinberg, 1955; Weiner, 1962).

Although this severe psychopathology involving decompensation, thought disorder, and ongoing delusional or hallucinatory activity is at best infrequently reported as characteristic of the incest father, a diagnostic impression of a paranoid personality disorder is often utilized to encompass the paternal hostility, suspiciousness, and projective defenses exhibited on a routine basis. Cavallin (1966); Meiselman (1978); Ralphing et al. (1967); and Weiner (1962) have all reported the incidence of paranoid trends existing in the thinking of a moderate to large percentage of fathers in their respective samples. Projection, a highly complex, intellectualized defense structure, an inability to express emotional difficulties, and social introversion were commonly reported as chronically inherent in personality configurations of incestuous fathers in these studies. Panton (1979) comparing incestuous fathers with non-incestuous child molesters, found the former group to demonstrate significantly higher elevations on the social introversions scale of the M.M.P.I., suggesting poor interpersonal relationships and inadequate social skill development. Finkelhor (1978)
suggests that the family's subcultural isolation, fostered by the actions of the father, is an important variable in determining the etiology of father-daughter incest. A logical conclusion would infer that the suspicious hostile father, unable to trust the motives of others outside of the family system, would attempt to establish a dependent, ingrown family far removed from activities of the external environment.

This dependent, ingrown family, commonly viewed as transcending the multitude of personality types and traits characterizing the incestuous father, appears in numerous studies reported throughout the professional literature (Cavallin, 1966; Kubo, 1959; Lustig, 1966; Marcuse, 1923; Riemer, 1940; Weinberg, 1955; Weiner, 1962). The endogamic father in this system [a term coined by Weinberg (1955)] is often very insecure in his perceived masculinity, and despite frequent attempts to express sexual bravado, is relatively unable to establish mature sexual relationships with adults (Spencer, 1978).

The Kinsey Institute Study of Gebhard et al. (1965) described two specific types of endogamic or ingrown family systems. The first, encompassing approximately 75% of the offenders involved sexually with daughters under the age of twelve, consisted of dependent, socially ineffectual, domineering fathers clinically diagnosed as manifesting a personality disorder, often associated with
paranoid symptomatology. The second group, most frequently imprisoned for sexual involvement with daughters twelve years and older and consisting of lower socioeconomic offenders, espoused highly religious, moralistic attitudes in conjunction with periods of intoxication, physical abuse, and the ultimate incestuous activity that they routinely repented yet continued to exhibit. Spencer (1978) describes these fathers as presenting a facade of righteousness, as living by the "Golden Rule" and as confused about why their daughters often engage in evil behavior. Gebhard et al. (1965) proposed a third situational category encompassing cases strongly affiliated with a series of stressful events inhibiting the resistance of a father in a functional, non-incestuous family system. Nonetheless, the majority of fathers engaging in incest with daughters tend to limit social and sexual contact to the family, even when their marital relationship fails to provide for their sexual needs.
D. The Participants: The Daughter

The final participant in the dysfunctional, collusive family system is the victim of the father's ongoing sexual perpetration. The traumatic plight of the daughter has been the topic of countless research and case study efforts, each attempting to ascertain immediate or long term effects inherent in the daily functioning of these individuals. It is undoubtedly difficult to propose a noncontingent, detailed description of the daughter given the intensity and confusion of her dysfunctional family system. The victim's mental and emotional status appears highly dependent upon the multitude of forces inherent in this system, not only throughout the duration of the affair, but also at its conclusion. Although written speculation has been presented to the contrary (Yorukoglu & Kemph, 1966), the vast majority of father-daughter incest victims are maladaptively effected by the trauma of incest.

The vast majority of father-daughter incest victims are the eldest daughter living within the family system at the onset of the affair (Weinberg, 1955). Herman and Hirschman (1977) suggest that the oldest daughter is inadvertently chosen for the victim role in that she is often obliged to maintain all housekeeping duties that include supervising the younger children in the family. As the
eldest daughter becomes older and less cooperative with the sexual advances of her father (Maisch, 1972) family disequilibrium is at least temporarily averted if a younger child within the system can replace her older sister as the incestuous object (Brown, 1979).

The physical attractiveness of a daughter forced into an incestuous object role within the family system, according to Meiselman (1978) is not a predisposing factor to the eventual onset of incest. A strong, positive correlation between the development of secondary sex characteristics, and the age of the victim at the onset of incest has been proposed by Maisch (1972). Not surprisingly, rationalizations concerning incestuous involvement often stress the physical maturity of the daughter at time of onset (Cormier et al., 1962; Gebhard et al., 1965). Nonetheless, other authors (Herman & Hirschman, 1977) report the average age of initial incestuous perpetration to be several years prior to the onset of puberty, totally discounting the puberty-onset relationship purported by Maisch (1972). Although the multitude of personality characteristics attributed to the father and the extent of dysfunction of the family system have been offered as explanations concerning the disparity in ages of the victim reported at the time of incest, no conclusive findings have been offered in an attempt to sufficiently explain the inconsistencies in the literature.
Conclusive findings in the literature have been offered concerning the intellectual capacities of the child involved in father-daughter incest. Although subnormal intelligence quotients have been cited in individual case studies reported (Kubo, 1959; Weinberg, 1955), the majority of daughters incestuously involved with their fathers function within the normal range of intelligence (Gligor, 1966; Maisch, 1972; Meiselman, 1978). Recent studies have indicated frequent school behavior problems among children experiencing sexual relationships with fathers or stepfathers (Browning & Boatman, 1977). This finding is consistent with DeFrances' (1969) claim that approximately two-thirds of his sample of 263 child victims of sexual assault were emotionally disturbed by the offense and its consequences.

Children approached sexually by their fathers are frequently considered to be active contributors as opposed to passive innocent victims of a hideous crime (Bender & Blau, 1937; Henderson, 1975; Howard, 1959). Lukianowicz (1972, p. 309) commented, "All other children, male and female, were far from being innocent victims; on the contrary, they were willing partners and often productive seductresses." Gebhard et al. (1965) concluded that older daughters involved incestuously with fathers were actually quite cooperative throughout the duration of the affair. Brown (1979) suggested that the incestuous relationship
is often exposed in jealousy by the eldest daughter, whose father initiates sexual activity with her younger sister. Peters (1976), in offering an alternative perspective, comments that a child's attention and affection seeking behavior is often misconstrued by the father to be seductive in nature and intent. Nonetheless, Kreigger, Rosenfeld, Gordon and Bennett (1980) comment that children reporting incestuous histories frequently demonstrate seductive behavior upon presentation in therapy.

Children reporting incestuous histories resulting in public disclosure of the father-daughter affair, are immediately faced with intense hostility and rejection on the part of some or at times all participants in the family system (Meiselman, 1978). James (1977) commented that the sexual experience with the father is often one of great suffering after the revelation of incest, due largely to the intense reactions that interested parties express to the child. Bender and Blau (1937, pp. 510-511) commented, "The most remarkable feature presented by these children who have experienced sexual relations with adults was that they showed less evidence of fear, anxiety, guilt, or psychic trauma than might be expected." Peters (1976) commented that children seen immediately following the experience of a sexual trauma were less expressive of negative affect than were adults similarly involved. Peters commented that these children are likely unable to express
or tolerate the intensity of feelings resulting from the incident, and tend to emotionally withdraw into a protective state void of negative affect or cognition.

Several authors have reported a strong, positive correlation between the negative intensity of the sexual experience in childhood, and the degree to which the assailant was known to the child (DeFrances, 1969; Landis, 1956; Peters, 1976). DeFrances (1969), Sgroi (1978) and MacFarlane (1978) suggest that this effect is likely to be even greater if the child is physically attacked, disgraced, punished, forced to testify publicly, or subject to nonsupportive reactions by parents and child protective service professionals.

A wide range of feelings may be experienced by the child in response to the ongoing incestuous affair and its discovery. Selinske (1980) suggests that the child will, depending on personality and situational variables, experience any or all of the following: anxiety stemming from fear of continued abuse, anger, rejection, betrayal, depression, frustration, powerlessness, diminished self-worth, guilt, isolation, shame, and embarrassment. The behavioral expression of these feelings, according to this author, are at times manifest in the child's attempting to protect her parents by retracting her story and in the child's running away from the foster or emergency residential placement to return to her home.
More frequently, however, a large variety of psycho­
genic, neurotic, and affective symptomatology is observed
soon after the family secret is exposed to the public.
Several authors (Browning & Boatman, 1977; Herman & Hirsch­
man, 1977; Kaufman et al., 1954; Molnar & Cameron, 1975)
have reported the incidence of mild to severe clinical de­
pression with suicidal ideation and actual attempts in a
moderate to high percentage of victims in their father­
daughter incest samples. Others (Bigras, 1966; Cowie,
Cowie, & Slater, 1968) suggest that a common response to
incest either before or after its public divulgence, is the
daughter's running away from home. Brown (1979) concludes
that a frequent consequence of the sexual misuse of chil­
dren is the development of persistent somatic complaints
without a physiological basis, uttered routinely by the
child. Maisch (1972) reported psychosomatic dysfunction in
17% of his sample; and suggested that quite often, sympto­
matology appeared symbolically linked to the incestuous re­
relationship. Recent findings (Gross, 1979) have revealed
that 25% of adolescents clinically diagnosed as experienc­
ing hysterical seizures, or pseudoseizures, have reported
a history of father-daughter incest. Goodwin and Bergman
(1979) reported the incidence of hysterical seizure dis­
orders in six patients; in each case the onset of the
seizures coincided with the onset or disclosure of incest.
The authors commented that with intensive psychotherapeu­
tic intervention, one of these patients was success-
fully withdrawn from anticonvulsents, which she had been
ingesting for nearly twenty years.

Debilitating effects of father-daughter incest appear
to surface during and immediately following public dis-
closure of the sexual affair. Unfortunately these effects
tend not to subside, to the contrary, they intensify and
result in intrapsychic and interpersonal dysfunction trans-
cending a multitude of situations in which the adult in-
dividual is expected to behave appropriately by others.

Intrapsychic and interpersonal difficulties manifest
at times in periods of promiscuity and delinquent behavior-
al expression, are frequently associated with adult females
who have endured ongoing sexual relations with their fathers.
Several authors (Benward & Denson-Gerber, 1975; Howard,
1959; Kubo, 1959; Lukianowicz, 1972; Medlicott, 1967;
Rascovskj & Rascovsky, 1950; Sloane & Karpinsky, 1942)
have reported debilitating periods of promiscuity in
samples of incestuously victimized daughters. Kaufman
et al. (1954, p. 275) suggest, "The purpose of the sexual
promiscuity seemed to be to relive the experience with
the father, and hence, through the mechanism of the re-
petition compulsion, to work through their anxiety and
at the same time achieve a restitution of the lost parent."
Spencer (1978) concludes that promiscuity results from the
daughter's inability to form meaningful heterosexual re-
relationships resulting directly from intensive conflictual feelings concerning the incestuous affair. Malmquist et al. (1966) reported that prior to their unwed motherhood, 25% of a sample of women with three or more illegitimate pregnancies had endured sexual relations with their fathers. Van Gijsen (1975), dividing a sample of 52 incestuously victimized daughters into prepubescent and postpubescent onset subgroups, found that daughters accosted sexually by fathers before puberty experienced periods of promiscuity, whereas postpubescent children enduring sexual advances eventually rejected all notions of sexuality. Meiselman (1978) reported excessive promiscuity in two cases within her psychotherapy sample; these daughters could achieve orgasm only in situations where they were unfamiliar with their sexual partners.

Periods of promiscuity are often accompanied by delinquent and criminal behavior manifest throughout the duration of and immediately following the incestuous affair. Lukianowicz (1972) reported approximately one-third of his sample of daughters to have been criminally prosecuted at some point after the termination of the incest relationship. Some authors (Halleck, 1962; James, 1977) have estimated that at least ten to fifteen percent of samples of delinquent female adolescents have endured sexual relations with their fathers. It is important to be cognizant not only of the specific populations sampled,
but also the failures to control for social class in these studies, before gross generalizations are purported concerning a relationship between criminal and incest histories.

A relationship between a history of incest and the incidence of prostitution has been reported among at least a minority of children having endured sexual relations with their fathers (James, 1977; Kubo, 1959; Lukianowicz, 1972; Sloane & Karpinsky, 1942; Weinberg, 1955). Greenwald (1958) reported that in his sample of upperclass prostitutes, a majority of the women had received monetary rewards from adult males in childhood for sexual favors rendered. James and Meyerding (1978) examining the early sexual histories of prostitutes, concluded that as children these women received many more sexual advances from adults, were more consistently victimized incestuously, and experienced a higher incidence of rape than did a matched random sample of non-prostitutes.

Given the intense and debilitating long-term effects associated with incestuous victimization, it is not surprising that current reporting in the professional literature at times attempts to utilize samples of women pursuing psychotherapy (Lukianowicz, 1972; Meiselman, 1978; Rosenfeld, 1978). Meiselman (1978), utilizing a control sample of nonincestuously involved females, reported that 31% of her sample of women sexually approached by fathers in child-
hood, were either described as obese upon presentation in therapy, or related a history of obesity during childhood or adolescence. These women presented more initial difficulties in particular ones concerning conflict with families of origin and past or current heterosexual relationships, than other patients seen in therapy. The author reported incestuously involved women to require psychiatric hospitalization more frequently than the matched sample of patients reporting no history of incestuous involvement.

Diagnostically, a history of incestuous involvement often predisposes the child to develop intense psychological difficulties and personality disturbance. Heims and Kaufman (1963) suggested that victims of incestuous histories often develop character disorders or antisocial tendencies as opposed to neurotic or psychotic disorders. Many authors (Barry, 1965; Fleck, 1959; Kubo, 1959; Peters, 1976) report a mild positive correlation between incestuous experience and later development of a thought disorder or schizophrenia. Peters (1976) described a case history in which two daughters, three years apart, experienced incest at a very early age; both sisters in adulthood were diagnosed as being schizophrenic by their therapist, the younger in a psychotic state, believing that her father was the natural father of her newborn child. Rosenfeld (1979) diagnosed five of six women reporting incestuous histories as manifesting hysterical or histrionic features.
that significantly inhibited their daily functioning.

Several authors (Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Kaufman et al., 1954) reported that a high percentage of women incestuously involved in childhood, excessively complained of depression and isolation as a result of an underlying desire for a nonsexual, supportive parent. In response to depression, these women at times turn to and ultimately abuse drugs, exemplified in Benward and Denson-Gerber's 1975 findings that 44% of a sample of women hospitalized for drug addiction reported a prior history of incestuous relations. Symptomatology consistent with depression is suggested not only in Cohen and Klein's (1972) finding of a high incidence of suicidal gestures among this population, but also in Brown's 1979 report that incestuous daughters present clinical symptomatology including poor self-esteem, disoriented female sexual identity, impaired frustration tolerance, and a tendency to be masochistic in their heterosexual relationships. In addition, Tsai and Wagner (1978) cite problems in interpersonal relationships, a negative self-image, inadequate social skills, difficulties in sexual functioning, and intense feelings of guilt and depression as characteristic of women involved in father-daughter incest in childhood.

Women involved in father-daughter incest in childhood often express intense, negative feelings concerning their family of origin when seen in therapy. Surprising-
ly enough, much of their affective experience is directed toward the mother. Kaufman et al. (1954) commented that incest victims almost universally viewed their mothers as cruel, unjust, and emotionally depriving, whereas fathers were perceived with a great deal more ambivalence. Spencer (1978) suggests that although somewhat ambivalent and confused, the daughter's descriptive conception of her mother includes the adjectives: cold, uncaring, highly untrustworthy and non-supportive. Herman and Hirschman (1977) concluded that although some women expressed a sense of disappointment and contempt for their fathers, particularly when enduring severe beatings in conjunction with sexual abuse, they seldom felt as keenly the sense of betrayal and abandonment intensely associated with their mothers. Some women, according to these authors, actually felt sorry for their fathers, perceiving that they too had been abandoned and emotionally rejected by the mother.

Women having endured sexual relations with their fathers are often perceived as masochistic in marital relations with their husbands. Meiselman (1978, p. 215) suggests informal, descriptive terms including "doormat, punching bag, and dishrag," to describe 42% of the women in her psychotherapy sample who had experienced incestuous relationships with their fathers. Brown (1979) concludes that the young incest victim, used and forced into a role of submissiveness by her father, continues to demonstrate
a masochistic pattern of interaction in her relationships with peers in school and ultimately with men in heterosexual interactions. Although some authors have hypothesized that incestuous daughters unconsciously seek father figures in adult relationships (Rasovsky & Rasovsky, 1950; Rhinehart, 1961; Thompkins, 1940), little documentation exists suggesting this to be factual in a large percentage of this population.

It is not surprising that a high level of marital discord and sexual dissatisfaction has often been reported by women relating incestuous histories in childhood (Meiselman, 1978; Rosenfeld, 1979; Tsai & Wagner, 1978). Meiselman (1978) reported that 87% of the women in her psychotherapy sample complained of current or recent difficulties in sexual adjustment. Medlicott (1967) described sexual problems ranging from promiscuity to serious heterosexual difficulties including orgasmic dysfunction and disinterest in sexual participation, plaguing over 75% of his sample. Malmquist et al. (1966) reported that incestuous women engaging in promiscuous interactions are seldom orgasmic in sexual relationships experienced. The authors comment that these women appear to tolerate sexual relations as the price to be paid for heterosexual attention. Meiselman (1978) reported a significant 74% of women in her psychotherapy sample who had endured or were currently grappling with the difficulties inherent in orgasmic dysfunction.
Not surprisingly, at least a small percentage of women reporting incestuous histories attempt to rectify sexual difficulties by choosing a homosexual lifestyle (Kaufman et al., 1954; Medlicott, 1967). Nonetheless, incestuous experience in childhood appears to be a predisposing factor to at least moderate sexual dysfunction in adulthood. Baisden (1971), who coined the work "rosaparenia," which he defined as a condition plaguing women incapable of accepting their own sexuality, reported that 90% of the individuals in his "rosaphrenic" sample had been sexually molested in childhood, 22.5% by their fathers.
E. Conclusion: Transgenerationality and the Research Implications.

The etiology of dysfunctional family system dynamics, resulting in an incestuous relationship between father and daughter, has been described in detail throughout the review of the literature previously presented. It becomes clear that an abundance of unanswered questions remain concerning causative and outcome variables inherent in traumatic sexual abuse of this nature. The transgenerational effects of father-daughter incest, seldom systematically researched and reported in the professional literature, could account for at least a small percentage of the variations highlighted in published documentation of the incestuous affair.

Berry (1975) reporting from a psychoanalytic perspective, suggests the hypothesis of a transmissible phenomenon inherent in at least some incestuous relationships. The author conceptualized the adult victim's adoption of the incestuous mother's role in setting up her daughter to be sexually abused by the husband. Ralphping et al. (1967) describe an individual case study in which an incestuous perpetrator had witnessed the sexual abuse of his sister by their father. They concluded that the early learning experience predisposed the adult victim
"by association" to choose an incestuous as opposed to an extra-marital relationship with his daughter when sexual needs were not being fulfilled in the marriage. Meiselman (1978, p. 87) comments, "Observation of incest in one's own family, especially when it seems to have no serious consequences, at the very least would make one aware that family members are possible sexual partners even if they are not socially approved... Learning within the family that incest is at least semi-acceptable might well offset signals from peers outside the family that incest is strongly taboo behavior." And finally, Brown (1979, p. 437) comments that in the dysfunctional family system the natural mother frequently experienced a traumatic sexual encounter in childhood. The author concludes, "Setting up an incestuous pattern for her daughter serves to recreate her childhood. As in all repetition compulsions, there is some motivation to repeat the trauma in order to master it, but it also serves as a revenge against the maternal figure who gave inadequate love and inadequate protection."

The potentiality of transgenerational effects to manifest in father-daughter incest is elucidated simply by comparing descriptive comments reported concerning the mother and the adult victim of the dysfunctional family system. As previously cited, the mother's background is often one of emotional deprivation. She can be described in many cases as passive, submissive, masochistic, and depressed,
with intense feelings of worthlessness and inadequacy. She typically fails to participate in sexual relations with her husband and at times presents an established background of promiscuity or sexual acting out. The mother's relationship with the victimized daughter is frequently one of displacement of hostility and aggression stemming from her own relationship with her natural mother.

The adult victimized daughter, consequently, often presents a background of emotional deprivation and continual deficiency in her relationship with her natural mother. She too can be described as passive, submissive and masochistic, with overwhelming feelings of guilt, worthlessness, and inadequacy. She often complains of depression, isolation, and ongoing sexual difficulties, and frequently reports a history of promiscuity manifested at times in sexual acting out and prostitution. The adult victimized daughter, who perceived her mother as cold, uncaring, non-supportive, and highly untrustworthy, nonetheless appears to resemble her both intrapersonally and in heterosexual relations within her own family system. Given strong feelings of betrayal concerning her own mother, it seems quite likely that the eldest daughter of an adult incestuous victim is a strong candidate for not only displacement of feelings of hostility and aggression, but also for sexual assault by her own father, or step-father in the trans-generational family system.
The potential for incestuous assault within the transgenerational family system is further enhanced not only by frequent marital discord, resulting in step-fathers or boyfriends introduced into the system, but also by sexual dysfunction, resulting in rejection of sexual relations with partners living in the home. The submissive, masochistic adult victim acquiescently willing to tolerate mistreatment in relationships, is more likely to accept an abusive, authoritarian husband. These are often descriptive characteristics of the father involved in an incestuous affair with his daughter. If the father happened to be involved incestuously in childhood, a condition often associated with gross psychopathology (Wahl, 1960), transgenerational effects could become apparent which have not been differentiated at present within the professional literature.

If father-daughter incest is indeed a transgenerational phenomena, family dynamics inherent in dysfunctional incestuous systems will likely vary, depending upon the sexual histories experienced by parents in childhood. The study which follows will describe the manifestation of system factors inherent in families in which the mother, the father, or both parents were incestuously involved in childhood. It was hypothesized that differences would be seen in each of these different families, depending on sexual histories experienced by parents in childhood.
Within the family in which the father had been involved in or witnessed incestuous relations in childhood, the following system factor expression is predicted:

1. Earlier onset (age) of sexual relations with daughters;
2. Mother infrequently absent from home or physically incapacitated;
3. Father infrequently at home alone with daughter at least one day a week for eight hours;
4. Shorter term incestuous affairs;
5. More than one child involved incestuously;
6. Decreased likelihood of impoverished sexual relations between father and mother;
7. Greater likelihood of perpetrator being natural father;
8. Frequent introduction of oral-genital sexual relations with daughter;
9. Decreased likelihood of father's denying incestuous relations and using alcohol at onset.

Within the family system in which the mother experienced incestuous relations in her family of origin, the following system factor expression is hypothesized:

1. An older child at the onset of the incestuous affair;
2. Father frequently at home alone with daughter at least one day a week for an eight hour period;
3. Only one child sexually abused by father in the incestuous system.

4. Longer term incestuous relations;

5. Father infrequently expelled from home upon initial discovery of incest;

6. Frequent running away history of daughter;

7. Frequent initial disbelief of daughter's story by mother;

8. Infrequent sexual relations between father and mother;

9. Daughter frequently responsible for all housework and/or supervision of younger children in family;

10. Mother frequently reporting a history of epilepsy, suicide attempts, illegitimate pregnancies, prostitution, alcoholism, drug abuse, being inorgasmic with father, and spouse abuse; and

11. Frequent incidence of daughter's incestuous involvement with other family members in addition to father.
METHOD SECTION

The study concerning the transgenerational effects of father-daughter incest was conducted utilizing self-report information found in case records of families reporting or discovered to be harboring incestuous relations between father and daughter(s). The sample was drawn from incest cases investigated by the Children's Advocacy and Crisis Center serving Orange, Seminole, Osceola, and Brevard Counties; from cases seen at The Greenhouse Family Counseling Center in Orlando; and from case records currently housed in Closed Files, formerly investigated by representatives of the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services.

Family case record documentation was statistically collated in one of three independent groups, depending on the family of origin parental-childhood sexual histories reported and documented in individual case records. The "Both Parent" Group includes all families in which both mother and father reported personal incestuous assault within their natural family system. The "Mother Only" Group includes all families in which only the mother was incestuously assaulted during childhood. The "Father Only" Group includes all families in which only the father reported personal incestuous assault or observation of
incestuous assault within his family of origin.

Only those family system factors in which objective data (e.g. age of onset of father-daughter incest; the occurrence of prostitution in mother's history"), could be obtained was included for analysis. No subjective judgement was utilized when analyzing family system factors. The investigator attended to variables that were consistently cited in psychosocial histories throughout case records. Recorded data reflects either the occurrence or non-occurrence of an event within the family system (dichotomous variables) or a numerical measure of an event occurring at some point in the dysfunctional history of the family or its participants (e.g. age of daughter at time of incestuous onset).

A multitude of family system factors was analyzed, each hypothetically predicted to vary across individual parent childhood sexual history (P.C.S.H.) groups studied. Data concerning the following family system factors cited in individual case records was recorded, collated, and statistically analyzed:

1. Age of youngest child molested (if two or more daughters incestuously involved) at time of incest;

2. Mother absent from home or physically incapacitated for at least one month during the incestuous relationship;

3. Father at home alone with daughter(s) at least
one day a week for eight hours during incestuous period;

4. Length in months of incestuous affair;

5. Whether father was expelled from home upon initial discovery of incest;

6. Whether daughter had run away from home at least once;

7. Number of children involved incestuously;

8. Whether mother initially disbelieved daughter's story;

9. Whether mother and father were engaging infrequently in sexual relations (less than one time per week) during at least one month of incestuous period;

10. Whether daughter was responsible for all housework and/or supervising younger children in family on a regular basis (three times or more per week);

11. Whether mother reports history of epilepsy;

12. Whether mother reports suicidal history;

13. Whether mother reports at least one illegitimate pregnancy;

14. Whether mother was raped outside of immediate family system;

15. Whether mother reported a history of prostitution.

16. Whether mother reported personal history of alcoholism or drug abuse;

17. Whether mother reports being inorgasmic with father;
18. Whether child was physically abused in the family system and by which parent;
19. Whether abusing parent was natural father;
20. Whether oral-genital sexual activity was introduced with daughter;
21. Whether father at any time denied incestuous activity;
22. Whether father was using alcohol at onset of incest;
23. Whether mother physically abused by father; and
24. Whether daughter(s) abused incestuously by other family members in addition to father.

An additional computation of the percentage of trans-generational incest cases seen within the sample was completed. Finally, when available, the age of the abused parent at the time of sexual assault or the onset of incestuous relations was recorded in each appropriate P.C.S.H. Group.

In conducting the procedural aspects of this study, the investigator reviewed case files in such a fashion that all names and other identifying information remained confidential. The investigator submitted a typed release form to the Agency, explaining specific procedures utilized in the collection of data. The Agency Administrator in each facility signed this release form before any files were reviewed. The release form utilized is included in Appendix A.
The author additionally employed a second investigator, an undergraduate psychology major, to review at least ten percent of the files reviewed initially. The author briefed the individual as to the correct utilization of the data collection sheet and the specific laws of confidentiality pertaining directly to the tasks to be completed. An inter-observer reliability score was computed to ensure that results reported accurately reflect the family system factors analyzed in the study. Case files reviewed by the second investigator were chosen at random.

No inferences were drawn concerning differences between incestuous and non-incestuous families, given the authors interest in demonstrating transgenerational effects inherent between families actively or passively promoting an incestuous relationship between father and daughter. Cases in which self-report data were inconclusive in determining the P.C.S.H. Group to which the family should be assigned were not utilized in the study.

In the study of transgenerational effects of father-daughter incest, a father in both the family of origin and incestuous family was defined as an individual (natural father, step-father, or boyfriend) living in the home environment and functioning in a parental role. Father-daughter incest was defined as any successful attempt by the father or parental figure to effect sexual contact (i.e., genital fondling, oral-genital relations, genital
intercourse) with the daughter at any point in the existence of the family system.
RESULTS

A majority of the 300 case records reviewed at the cooperating agencies were not utilized in the study. These records were either inconclusive in determining the P.C.S.H. Group to which the family should be assigned or were not of the father-daughter incest variety as called for in the procedural guidelines of this study. Nonetheless, 55 case records were identified that included historical data of both parents in the incestuous family. Of these, 16 included no mention of sexual abuse of either parent. Actual denial of incestuous histories by both parents was noted in only two of these sixteen cases. Fathers in 14 of these 16 cases denied sexual contact with a daughter. A logical conclusion would be that a large majority, if not all records categorized as "neither parent" files actually describe families in which either one or both parents failed to relate incestuous histories because they were not specifically asked; or one or both parents volitionally lied about childhood sexual experiences given the implications of guilt that such a revelation would entail.

Given the questionable validity of a "neither parent" P.C.S.H. Group actually existing, all data was collated and statistically analyzed in one of three P.C.S.H. Groups ("Father Only," "Mother Only," and "Both Parents"). The
55 case records were identified; 16 were differentiated as "Mother Only," 13 as "Father Only," and 10 as "Both Parents" with consideration to the specific Parent Childhood Sexual History Group to which the case was assigned.

Continuous variables including family system factors one, four, and seven were statistically analyzed, using independent one-way analyses of variance. Dichotomous variables were analyzed using the chi-square (\(\chi^2\)) distribution; these include family system factors two, three, five, six, and eight through twenty-five. Correlation coefficients were also computed to determine the relationship between age of onset of sexual abuse (child) and the age at which the parent was incestuously abused in both "Mother Only" and "Father Only" P.C.S.H. Groups.

Twenty-five family system factors were statistically analyzed across three Parent Childhood Sexual History Groups. Data presentation will reflect not only the relative occurrence of factors in incestuous families but also statistically significant and non-significant differences between the different P.C.S.H. Groups.

In the 55 case records reviewed, the average age of the youngest child in each family involved in an incestuous affair was 8.87 years. Twenty-eight percent of the mothers in incestuous families were absent from the home for at least one month (interim) during the sexual relationship.
between father and daughter. In 65% of the cases reviewed, the father was at home alone with the daughter at least one day a week for at least an eight hour period. Upon discovery of incest, the father was expelled from the home by the mother, the police, or the intervening child protective agency in only 24% of the cases. The duration of the sexual relationship between father and daughter averaged 27.75 months, or a little over two years. Thirty percent of the daughters abused within the family system ran away from home on at least one occasion. In the average family, 1.62 children were sexually abused by the father. The mother initially disbelieved the daughter's story in 48% of the cases reviewed. Infrequent engagement in sexual activity (once a week or less) between the mother and the father was reported in 57% of the cases. A parent-child role reversal in which the daughter was responsible for all housekeeping chores and/or supervising younger siblings was described in only 26% of the case records.

Mothers within the incestuous family system reported infrequent histories of epilepsy (2%); suicide attempts (9%); being raped outside of the family system (6%); prostitution (2%); and alcohol or drug abuse (19%). Thirty-four percent of the mothers reported the birth of at least one child out of wedlock, and 19% revealed serious sexual dysfunction in their marital relationship. Children in incestuous families were subjected to physical abuse in
68% of the cases reviewed. Father-daughter sexual relations involving a natural father were noted in 36% of the families, while oral/anal-genital activity was introduced in 46% of the incestuous relationships. Seventy-eight percent of the fathers denied incestuous involvement and were abusing alcohol in 51% of the cases during the incestuous affair. Spouse abuse (husband being the abusing partner) was noted in 44% of the records reviewed. Twenty-six percent of the daughters were abused by other family members excluding the father.

Three family system factors were statistically analyzed with computations derived from individual one-way analyses of variance to determine differences between individual P.C.S.H. Groups. Analysis of family system factor one, the age of onset of the incestuous affair showed significant differences among the three P.C.S.H. Groups ($F = 16.89, \, df = 2,36, \, p<0.01$). The utilization of the Scheffé method of multiple comparisons as a post-hoc test yielded significant differences between the average age of onset of incest in the "Father Only" P.C.S.H. Group (M = 6.00 years) and the "Mother Only" P.C.S.H. Group (M = 11.12 years), as well as between the "Mother Only" and "Both Parents" P.C.S.H. Group (M = 6.20 years).

Analysis of family system factor seven, the number of children incestuously involved, also produced signifi-
cant differences across the three P.C.S.H. Groups ($F = 7.84, df = 2,35, p<0.01$). Post hoc results (Scheffe') yielded a significant difference between the average number of children abused in the "Father Only" P.C.S.H. Group (M = 2.23) and the "Mother Only" P.C.S.H. Group (M = 1.12). Analysis of family system factor five, length in months of the incestuous affair, failed to yield a significant $F$ ratio.

The majority of family system factors were statistically analyzed with computations derived from an analysis of frequencies utilizing the chi square distribution ($\chi^2$). Family system factor nine, whether mother and father were engaging infrequently in sexual activity (less than once a week), was significantly related to group assignment ("Father Only," "Mother Only," and "Both Parents") ($\chi^2 = 9.52, df = 2, p<0.01$). This factor occurred six times in thirteen in "Father Only" families, three times in nine in "Mother Only" families, and nine times in nine in "Both Parents" families.

Family system factor 19, the occurrence of natural father-daughter incest, was significantly related to group assignments ($\chi^2 = 7.79, df = 2, p<0.05$). This factor occurred nine times in thirteen in "Father Only," three times in sixteen in "Mother Only," and three times in eight in "Both Parents" families. Family system factor six, whether daughter had runaway from home on one
occasion, was significantly related to group assignment ($\chi^2 = 5.16, df = 2, p \leq 0.10$), occurring one time in 11 in "Father Only," six times in 13 in "Mother Only," and one time in eight in "Both Parent" families. Finally, family system factor 13, whether mother reports at least one illegitimate pregnancy, was significantly related to group assignment ($\chi^2 = 4.85, df = 2, p \leq 0.10$). This factor occurred three times in 13 in "Father Only," nine times in fourteen in "Mother Only," and three times in eight in "Both Parents" families. The following family system factors were not significantly related to group assignment: 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14–18, 20–24 (see Table Four for observed frequency table for all $\chi^2$ family system factors).

Finally, individual correlation coefficients were computed to determine whether functional relationships exist between the age of the sexually abused child at the onset of the incestuous affair and the age of the parent when initially sexually assaulted in childhood. No such relationship exists between the ages of mothers and daughters in the "Mother Only" P.C.S.H. Group ($r = -.10$). In the "Father Only" Group with four degrees of freedom, a significant correlation coefficient was derived ($r = .993, df = 4, p \leq 0.01$). Only five case records in this group included the age of the father at the time of sexual assault.

The calculated inter-observer reliability score for
randomly chosen case files was .9225, with 131 agreements and 11 disagreements noted in the six case records (10% of total) reviewed. Disparity appeared to consistently transcend individual family system factors analyzed, with no one factor receiving more than two discrepancy scores between observers.
DISCUSSION

The results of this study suggest the absolute necessity of ascertaining family of origin data including sexual histories of both parents when attempting to assess and successfully intervene when providing services to incestuous families. Whether the father, the mother, or both parents in the dysfunctional system had experienced prohibited sexual relations in their family of origin will determine not only how family system factors are most likely to occur, but also the appropriate treatment strategies to be utilized by professionals with the incest family coming to their attention.

Approximately 71% of the 55 case reports reviewed in this study cited parent childhood sexual history experiences endured by one or both parents in their family of origin. Because parent family of origin data could not be inferred from the multitude of records discarded, the actual incidence of transgenerational father-daughter incest cannot be determined from the data collected and utilized in this study. Nonetheless, the results of the study confirm the notion that childhood incestuous experiences may be intensely traumatic and tend to recurrently manifest in new family systems in which the adult molested in childhood is unable to adequately function in
the parental role. Transgenerational father–daughter incest undoubtedly occurs far more frequently than in an occasional case study as suggested by Meiselman (1978) and could be a strong contributing factor in a majority of incest cases.

The results of the data support the hypothesis that fathers experiencing or observing sexual assault in childhood tend to most extensively violate the incest taboo governing parent–child relations in less dysfunctional family systems. They will attempt to effect incestuous relations with much younger children, and will frequently involve more than one child, if available, in their sexually and emotionally exploitive actions. The latter notion is discrepant from the common, stereotypic conception that incestuous fathers seek the sexual attention of the eldest daughter as a substitute for his wife who passively participates in a dynamic role reversal with the child. It appears as if natural father–daughter incest is most likely to occur in families in which the father experienced incestuous relations in childhood.

An almost one-to-one positive correlation was found to exist between the daughter's age at onset of the incestuous affair and the age of the father when sexually assaulted in childhood. According to written case documentation concerning a father incestuously approached and molested in childhood at age five, a court pre-disposition
report suggested that when this father interacted with his four year old daughter, he was able to relate to her just as another four year old himself and that the father and daughter participated in deep intellectual discussions with each other. The aberrant sexual and emotional gratification derived by this father in the relationship with his daughter suggests a consistent finding with Wahl's (1960) conclusion; the inherent trauma associated with incestuous relations in childhood manifests most intensely in P.C.S.H. families in which the father was sexually assaulted in childhood.

The stereotypic incest family notion described in detail throughout the introduction section of this study characterized families in which the mother reports incestuous involvement in childhood. Poor marital adjustment appears to result in a higher percentage of step-fathers and boyfriends introduced into the family system. These individuals tend to initiate sexual relations with just one daughter and at a much later age than in "Father Only" family systems. It appears that P.C.S.H. "Mother Only" daughters are more likely to run away from the dysfunctional family than in the other P.C.S.H. Groups, a notion at least in part attributable to the older child's ability to function at least semi-independently. Incestuously abused mothers appear to be more likely to give birth to children out of wedlock than mothers in other
P.C.S.H. Groups.

The stereotypic conception of an incestuous father seeking the sexual attention of the eldest daughter coerced into a parent-child role by the mother would be consistent with dynamics found in "Mother Only" family systems. In this system the father figure initiates a single incestuous relationship with an older daughter. One family system factor tending to corroborate this perspective (i.e., family system factor 10), whether the daughter was responsible for all housekeeping chores or supervising younger siblings, was not significantly related to group assignment. Several factors were found to be not significantly related to group assignment as hypothesized prior to initiation of the study. When reviewing the files for family system factors 2, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, a "no" was recorded on the data sheet if no reference to the occurrence of the factor was evident in the file. Each of these family system factors was not significantly related to group assignment. It can be speculated that case workers and therapists in many cases, simply failed to inquire and therefore ascertain the occurrence or non-occurrence of these individual factors. At least some of these specific family system factors could be found to be significantly related to group assignment if a sample of incest families were interviewed by an examiner who "asked all the right questions."
Families in which both parents either actively or passively participated in incestuous relations in childhood tend to manifest dysfunctional system pathology resembling various characteristics of the other two P.C.S.H. Groups. The daughter's age at onset of incestuous relations is significantly younger than victims in "Mother Only" families. It appears that sexual relations between husband and wife are more infrequent than in other P.C.S.H. Groups. If an inherent relationship between traumatic sexual contact in childhood and dysfunction in normal heterosexual relations in marriage exists, infrequent sexual contact between father and mother is highly predictable and consistent with these findings.

In addition to family system factors in which significant findings were reported, as well as those factors in which case workers often failed to inquire and therefore determine their occurrence or nonoccurrence accurately, several factors prevailing in incest families do not seem related to the childhood sexual histories reported by the parents. Fathers at home alone with daughters for an extended period routinely, a situation frequently construed as "set up" by the mother, appears to occur in a majority of incest families regardless of the childhood sexual histories reported by the parents. Fathers are seldom expelled from the family system upon initial discovery of incest, and frequently deny participation in
sexual activities with the daughter. Reported incestuous involvement in childhood by one or both parents does not appear to be related to the mother's initially disbelieving her daughter's story, whether oral-genital or anal-genital activities were introduced into the incestuous relationship, or whether the father was abusing alcohol while sexually involved with the child. The incidence of spouse abuse in incest families and the sexual abuse of the daughter by other family members in addition to the father do not seem related to Parent Childhood Sexual History Group assignment.

An obvious discrepancy when reviewing pertinent studies in the professional literature was the high percentage of physical abuse (68%) noted in the incestuous family. Although no more frequent in any of the P.C.S.H. Groups, it appears that the abusive nature of the dysfunctional family system often extends beyond the incidence of prohibited father-daughter sexual activity introduced by the former. Although mothers occasionally participated in physically abusive interactions with their children, frequently the father engaged in the physical mistreatment of sons and/or daughters living in the family home.

Certainly, the manifestation of family dynamics in incestuous family systems will differ, depending on the sexual histories experienced by parents in childhood.
P.C.S.H. Group parents are quite logically more disinhibited to the shocking trauma of the father-daughter incestuous affair. Fathers in "Both Parents" and "Father Only" Group families are likely to learn that incest is at least semiacceptable and that family members can be potential sexual partners (Meiselman, 1978). Mothers in "Both Parents" and "Mother Only" Group families observing recurring demonstration of an inadequate mothering role in childhood, nonetheless are likely to pattern their own parenting skills according to the incestuous model routinely experienced as a child.

Beyond learning inadequate parenting skills in childhood, P.C.S.H. "Both Parents," "Mother Only," and "Father Only" Group parents are exposed to early sexual trauma resulting often in intense feelings of guilt, confusion, anger, hatred, and betrayal. When these feelings are not adequately processed into a conceptual framework that the victimized individual can comprehend, they tend to remain active as the child passes into adulthood. Although many P.C.S.H. Group parents will attempt to rectify early traumatic experience in their own child rearing practices, parenting skill deficiencies and intense, active feelings projected to their children are likely to be inherent in the new family system.

If the "Both Parents" and "Mother Only" P.C.S.H. Group mothers happen to attract incestuously predisposed
fathers, these parenting skill deficiencies and projected feelings are likely to result in incestuous assault of a daughter if she is introduced into the system. Likewise, the sexually abused father in "Both Parents" and "Father Only" P.C.S.H. Groups, forced to respond as an adult in a childhood sexual relationship, could possibly be attempting to alleviate his confusion by reliving the incestuous experience while engaging in sexual relations with his daughter. Psychosexual development appears to be stifled following the sexual assault, resulting in an adult father most comfortable in relating in a sexual fashion to a developmental counterpart, his young daughter. Both parents soon find that intensification, as opposed to assuaging of these feelings is the likely result of an incestuous relationship within their own family system.

Treatment considerations, much like the occurrence of dynamic factors in the dysfunctional family system, depend to a great extent upon the childhood sexual histories reported by the parents. An initial dilemma plaguing legal and child protective agencies is whether to remove the child or father from the home in an attempt to terminate the incestuous affair. On the one hand, the removal of the daughter is frequently experienced as a punitive, guilt enhancing consequence by the child. On the other hand, the removal of the father functioning as the economic provider for the family, unfortunately often results in the
total disintegration of the family system. The results of this study would lend credence to the argument that the fathers sexually assaulted or observing sexual relations in childhood should be removed from the home during treatment, given the likelihood of these individuals to involve two or more children simultaneously in incestuous activities. On the contrary, consideration to remove the child in "Mother Only" cases may be given because the father is not likely to be involved with other children in addition to the abused daughter. Caution must be taken in this attempt to maintain the integrity of the family unit, given the notion of the next eldest daughter replacing her older sister as the parenting child in the dysfunctional family system.

In an attempt to ameliorate dysfunction in the incestuous family system, treatment considerations for "Both Parents," "Father Only," and "Mother Only" parents must include the teaching of new, more appropriate parenting skills to be implemented within the family system. Successful family treatment is multifaceted and includes individual, dyadic, and family system intervention. Husbands and wives particularly in "Both Parents" families, must participate in marital counseling with efforts expended to rectify sexual dysfunction and conflicts concerning intimacy. In an attempt to disrupt transgenerational effects, successful family intervention must include
strategies designed to reach male siblings observing incestuous relations between father and daughter. In addition, intensive therapeutic intervention to enhance comprehension and psychological rectification of the early sexual experience is an essential component of successful family treatment. Finally, along with parent-child relationship counseling, it is paramount to focus therapeutically upon the child victim and the expression and comprehension of feelings concerning her relationship with mother and father. Failure to carry active feelings of guilt, confusion, anger, hatred, and betrayal into adulthood could prove to be an inhibiting force to the trans-generaton of incest from one family system to another.
References


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Table One

Mean Age of the Youngest Child at Time of the Incestuous Affair

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent Childhood Sexual History Group</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
<th>&quot;Father Only&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Mother Only&quot;</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.89</td>
<td>6.20&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;(13)</td>
<td>11.12 (16)</td>
<td>6.00&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;(10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Significantly different from "Mother Only" Group, using Scheffe as Post hoc procedure (p<0.01)

<sup>b</sup>Numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of families in each P.C.S.H. Group.
Table Two

Mean Number of Children Involved Incestuously Within the Family System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent Childhood Sexual History Groups</th>
<th>&quot;Father Only&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Mother Only&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Both Parents&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F Ratio</td>
<td>7.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.23&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;(13)</td>
<td>1.12 (16)</td>
<td>1.88 (9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Significantly different from "Mother Only" Group using Scheffe as Post hoc procedure ($p$<0.01).

<sup>b</sup>Numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of families in each P.C.S.H. Group.
Table Three

Frequency of Occurrence of Family System Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor (X) Results</th>
<th>&quot;Mother Only&quot;</th>
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<th>&quot;Both Parents&quot;</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>&quot;no&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;yes&quot;</td>
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* p < 0.01
** p < 0.05
*** p < 0.10
DATA COLLECTION SHEET

Family I.D. #: 

Parent Childhood Sexual History Groups:
1. Neither Parent ____
2. Both Parents ____
3. Mother Only ____
4. Father Only ____

FAMILY SYSTEM FACTORS:
1. Age of youngest child molested ____
2. Mother Absent from home or physically incapacitated for at least one month ____
3. Father at home alone with daughter at least one day/week for 8 hours ____
4. Father expelled from home upon initial discovery (or arrested and jailed) ____
5. Length in months or years of incestuous affair months years ____
6. Whether daughter had run away from home at least once ____
7. Number of children involved incestuously ____
8. Whether mother initially disbelieved daughter's story yes no ____
9. Whether mother and father were engaging in sexual relations infrequently (less than one time per week) during incestuous period yes no ____
10. Whether daughter was responsible for all housework and/or supervising younger children in family on a regular basis (Parent-child role) yes no ____
11. Whether mother reports a history of epilepsy yes no ____
12. Whether mother reports a history of suicide attempts yes no ____
13. Whether mother reports at least one illegitimate pregnancy yes no ____
14. Whether mother was raped outside the family system yes no ____
15. Whether mother reports a history of prostitution yes no ____
16. Whether mother reports a personal history of alcoholism or drug abuse yes no ____
17. Whether mother reports being inorgasmic with father yes no ____
18. Average family income ___/yearly
19. Whether abusing parent was natural father yes no ____
20. Whether oral-genital sexual relations were introduced yes no ____
21. Whether father at any time denied incestuous activity yes no ____
22. Whether father used alcohol excessively during incestu-
ous period___yes___no
23. Whether mother was physically abused by father___yes___no
24. Whether daughter abused incestuously by other family
   members___yes___no
24. Age of abused parent at time of incestuous assault___

COMMENTS:
To The Agency Administrator:

As we discussed, I am completing a research thesis as a final requirement for a Master of Science Degree in Clinical Psychology from the University of Central Florida. I am attempting to study the transgenerational effects of father-daughter incest, and wish to utilize information contained in case records of families seen by representatives of your agency. Specifically, I wish to gather information from these records pertaining to family of origin information of the father, mother, and daughter in the incestuous families. I am looking at approximately twenty-six variables, a high percentage of these being dichotomous (yes or no) factors within the family or family of origin system. I understand that at no time will any individual case study information be reported. Data collection will utilize a numerical coding system to identify individual families to ensure that confidentiality of individual family members is maintained. In other words, data collection sheets leaving the Agency will at no time contain identifying information pertaining to the family. I have been informed by the members of my thesis committee that a second individual will be required to read and collect data from a random sample representing ten percent of the cases reviewed for the study. This is done as a way to measure inter-observer reliability to ensure the validity of the study to be conducted. It is likely that at least some files from your Agency will need to be reviewed by this person. As the Agency Administrator, your signature below acknowledges your understanding of the research project at hand and will allow me to review case files and record data in accordance with the statements presented above.

(Signature, Agency Administrator) (Date)